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tion. Russia could introduce socialism immediately, because of its village communities, scattered and decentralized as they were! Russia could adopt all the fruits of the capitalist system "without going through the tortures connected with it." Russia in his opinion, had "one of the most convenient opportunities which history ever offered to a people, to evade all the features of the capitalist system" (page 245).

Marx's inaugural address before the International stands in a similar fundamental contradiction to the theories of his earlier *Manifesto* as well as to those of his later *Capital*. The inaugural acknowledges the steady improvement of the conditions of the working class through the Factory Acts. Mr. Spargo sees here no contradiction. All he has to say on the subject is that "there is no great essential difference between it and the *Manifesto* of 1848, except that it is more cogent" (page 267).

In spite of its mistakes, Mr. Spargo's *Karl Marx* is a very creditable book. It adds to the sum total of our knowledge about Marx. But there is room for another biography of Marx that will deal with him objectively, that will admit all his inconsistencies and make them intelligible as expressions of his politico-emotional life. Marx then may appear to us less virtuous but more alive. At the same time it must be conceded that the book is very much the sort of biography that Marx himself would probably have desired. Heine has somewhere said that he would much rather be a living dog than a dead lion. Marx, on the contrary, always had a not too subconscious desire to be a lion, and he is so presented. May we say, without disrespect, that Mr. Spargo's Marx is not so much a portrait as the work of a loyal, loving, mourning taxidermist?

VLADIMIR G. SIMKHOVITCH.

Theorie der reinen und politischen Oekonomie. By FRANZ OPPENHEIMER. Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1910.—xxvi, 738 pp.

Dr. Oppenheimer's work may be described as a system of agrarian socialism, elaborating theories which he has set forth in previous publications.¹ He attempts to expose what he considers the fallacies of bourgeois liberalism as taught by the classical political economists.

¹ Der Staat (Frankfurt am Main, 1907). Grossgrundeigenthum und die soziale Frage (Berlin, 1898). Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft etc. (Berlin, 1896). Bevölkerungsgesetz von T. R. Malthus: Darstellung und Kritik (Berlin, 1901). Grundgesetz der Marxschen Gesellschaftslehre: Darstellung und Kritik (Berlin, 1903).

His style is attractive, and his theme is worked out with the accuracy of formulæ, in this respect reminding the reader of Proudhon. The popularity of the work is attested by the fact that a second edition has just been published.

The author contends that the theory of economic determinism, upon which Marxian socialism is based, is fallacious. It is the political activity rather than the economic needs of the dominant group in control of the state that determines both the nature and extent of the exploitation to which other groups are subjected. He draws a sharp distinction between what may be termed "economic labor," the product of which is freely exchanged for the product of the labor of others, and "political labor," which exists whenever labor can be enforced and whenever its products can be obtained without the return of an equivalent.

The legal exclusion from arable land of those desiring to settle upon it is the most important aspect of class domination. The legal rules and processes by which this result is obtained are based on political force. As society develops under this scheme of class domination, the exclusion of the workers from the land inevitably brings about conditions that become unbearable.

Oppenheimer endeavors to disprove the classic "primitive accumulation" theory, and to show the fallacy of any system of economics based upon this theory. Monopoly of land in estates larger than one family can cultivate creates a constantly self-recruiting mass of so-called "free laborers"—termed by Marx "the reserve army" of capitalism—which is a menace to all other laborers and constitutes the source of the modern proletariat. As long as the dominant class had power to occupy only a part of the public domain, exploitation of labor required some form of slavery. When that class gained full control of the state and of the legal machinery necessary to enforce its will, the concepts of feudal law were applied to all lands. The exploitation of the landless followed automatically. As Turgot well said: "As long as a man willing to labor can find arable land he will not work for another," because if he works for another he must give up a part of his produce to an overlord. The fact that laboring classes exist is evidence, in his opinion, not of the different qualifications of men, but of class domination, which expresses itself in each case through the political mechanism adopted and set in motion by the group in control of the state.

Dr. Oppenheimer maintains (page 260) that a class of proletarians is not an immanent but a historical category; and he contends that,

pursuant to the principle *cessante causa cessat effectus*, a distinctive laboring class must disappear with the abolition of those legally recognized principles of ownership which permit the monopoly of land and its withdrawal from use. These principles are based upon the desire of a social class to monopolize political power in the state, and they constitute the most effective means of retaining and exercising such a monopoly. The abandonment of these legal principles and the consequent abolition of land monopoly would mean cessation of exploitation of subject groups in the state and the disappearance of all forms of surplus value. As long as private land monopoly continues to exist, all forms of production become "secondary enforced means of exploitation," throwing off surplus value for the benefit of the proprietor of land; in other words, it is not the monopoly of agricultural land alone, but of all land, that is the basis of the pathologic hypertrophy of great cities as well as the ultimate cause of all labor troubles. The monopoly value of land, enormously increasing with density of population and the advance of industrial coöperation, is the nucleus of most great masses of capital formed in modern times. Oppenheimer is opposed both to communistic socialism and to individualistic anarchism. He recognizes the ineradicable tendency of man to ownership; his only question is as to what things shall be owned.

Many an institution hallowed by constitutions and laws and by other means of justifying exploitation has had to go, and others will be abolished in the future, since only those forms of property which are the result of labor are ethically justified. There is, he asserts, an ineradicable feeling in the minds of men that all land should be free; and as the state has developed from a mechanism of mere force into a scheme of domination, more or less representative of those classes that have achieved some political power, this development must logically end in the realization of ethically justified social aspirations. The object of all social development is to liberate wealth-producers from the incubus of class monopoly and political exploitation.

Oppenheimer is essentially optimistic. A tone of political hopefulness is manifested throughout his work. He aims to reconcile economic liberalism and the continuance of competition with socialism and its ultimate hope of a state strong enough to require all effort to be given for the common good and all reward to be meted out in full to those who produce.

Whether the panacea proposed by the author—land reform—will of itself absorb "the reserve army of labor" and obliterate the evils of our present system may well be questioned. As an arsenal, however,

of well-grouped facts and clearly stated principles of opposition to the existing régime and as a criticism of the prevalent school of economic thought, the work deserves attention.

JOHN M. GITTERMAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Report of the New York City Commission on Congestion of Population. New York, Lecouver Press Company, 1911.—272 pp.

Taxation of Land Values in American Cities. By BENJAMIN C. MARSH. New York, Benjamin C. Marsh, 1911.—xv, 112 pp.

City planning—that is, the substitution of scientific organization and prudent forethought for the largely fortuitous results of real-estate speculation—is now beginning to attract the attention of students of municipal government in the United States. It is true that as yet American schemes have scarcely got beyond the blue-print stage, but the interest shown in European experiments, particularly in the admirable enterprises of German cities, is an evidence that some new phases of American municipal politics are about to be opened. The age of tinkering with petty legislative restrictions, based upon no recognition of the larger economic problems, of which urban congestion is only one, seems nearly past. At this moment we are standing between two worlds, one dead and the other apparently powerless to be born; but the recognition of the death of the old beyond hope of resurrection is itself a sign of progress. The recent awakening of interest in New York City in the problem of congestion is due in a large measure to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Marsh, secretary of the New York state and city commissions on the Congestion and Distribution of Population.

The first of the documents before us is the result of an investigation conducted by a committee composed of members of the Board of Aldermen and private citizens of New York, appointed on May 17, 1910, by the mayor in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the Board of Aldermen. The report consists of five parts: an examination of the conditions of congestion in New York, the effects of congestion and room-overcrowding, the causes of congestion, methods of relief and prevention, and reports from sub-committees of the commission on parks, playgrounds, schools and recreation centers and buildings, and crime and delinquency. The statistical tables, deductions and recommendations are supplemented by excerpts from testimony and addresses given before the commission by distinguished specialists, among whom were